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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CZECH, SOVIET AIRMEN WORK TOGETHER AT WESTERN FRONTIER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Lt Col Jiri Hecko: "On the Eve of the USSR Military Airforce Day"]

[Text] As long as the West, especially the United States, contrary to signed agreements and hypocritical assurances of their leaders, is developing the neutron bomb and other means of mass destruction, our concern about assuring peace and reliable safety for us is not in the least exaggerated.

#### Meeting of Good Friends

Especially conscious of this are those who guard the security of our western borders which are at the same time the borders of the entire socialist community--members of the fraternal armies of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. This is particularly true of those who, side by side, every day, every hour and minute, in the closest cooperation, make sure that the skies above our homeland are clear and that nothing can disturb or threaten our daily peaceful work--the members of our Territorial Air Defense Command [PVOS] forces and the airmen of the Soviet Central Group Forces [Czechoslovakia].

Socialist internationalism in the daily practice of military service takes many forms. For example, when our, together with Soviet radar operators follow air targets or mutually exchange them, or when the challenging and difficult alert duty in guarding our airspace is maintained by both our and Soviet airmen and together they fly off against any possible intruder. Are there exceptions? There are many instances when aircraft approaching from the depths of the FRG stop just short of the border and then "copy" it for long numbers of kilometers? Even in this way it is possible to test the readiness of our air defenses. And even such an obvious provocation cannot go unheeded.

The soldiers who perform these demanding tasks side by side must know one another well. They must be absolutely certain that they can rely on one another in everything. Such cordial and informal relations among members of the PVOS and the Soviet airmen last for many years. And they do not pertain only to reliable performance of duty.

We were able to witness this during a get-together organized shortly before the Soviet airmen's holiday--USSR Military Airforce Day which falls on 21 August. At the same time the talk turned into a little run-down of what members of our fraternal armies are doing in the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution toward which a widespread socialist competition is aimed.

"Our friendship has deep roots. Its foundation goes back to the time of the First Czechoslovak Fighter Regiment in which Czechoslovak pilots and Soviet technicians flew in support of the Slovak national uprising. We are glad to adopt anything useful that your airmen come across and in return we are glad to pass on to them our experiences. This applies not only to air technology which is more and more complicated and exacting for the preparation of pilots as well as technicians. It also places great demands on the political-ideological maturity of people. For that reason we help one another in the preparation of propagandists, especially in studying the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 15th CPCZ Congress or learning about the new draft constitution of the USSR.

"The successes being achieved by the Czechoslovak people under the socialist development of their country and which we learn about through visits to plants or when we welcome their workers here at the airfield gladden the hearts, especially those of young airmen, and fill them with joy and pride over the achievements of our friends," said political worker Lt Col Nikolay Antonovich Vasilevskiy.

#### Fighter Pilots Speak

His words were immediately taken up by one of the young fliers, fighter pilot 1st Lt Nikolay Mikhaylovich Raspopov. His life story is quite brief--the 10-year school, advanced military air force school and his third year of service in his utvar [the basic tactical and independent organizational unit up to and including a regiment]. At 23 years of age he is already flying the most modern fighter planes.

"This year I made a commitment to fulfill all the requirements for becoming airman of the 2nd class proficiency. This means doing quite a bit of work in the area of theoretical, technical and ideological preparation. I understand that task number one is to prepare a convinced ideological fighter. One can then become a good flier. And I am glad that precisely on the anniversary of the Great October Revolution we are studying many of the works of V.I. Lenin. Even after all these many years they have lost none of their pertinence and urgency."



First Lt Raspopov then smiled boyishly and asked a question to which he immediately replied himself: "Do you know when I first became better acquainted with Czechoslovakia? And I must add, it was a very pleasant acquaintance! When I began to be familiar with the basics of high flying pilotage in your L29 plane. And I really consider it a mark of high confidence that I can serve in the country that produces such excellent planes and which is the land of our closest friends."

Our fighter pilot, Pilot 1st Class Comrade Capt Josef Kubela, listened to the words of 1st Lt Raspopov with great interest and unconcealed pleasure. "In our utvar we are trying to celebrate the October anniversary by performing all training tasks--even those that are connected with guarding the state borders--only in an exemplary manner. And, naturally, as a party official, I cannot stay apart from this joint effort.

"This year I completed the University Night Classes on Marxism and Leninism (and, as I later learned, with distinction) and I fully subscribe to what Comrade Raspopov said about the pertinence of Lenin's legacy. We are glad that we have many years' sponsor relations with Soviet comrades who observe this legacy consistently even nowadays.

"And in many ways they are models for us. For example, their experience in the training and preparation of fliers, where, of course, they have a much broader base than we, is simply invaluable to us. Soviet comrades are an example to us of dedication to matters of socialism which is reflected in their high personal responsibility in the daily performance of duty. Although we can also learn something from their attitude toward ideological work which is really the basis of all preparation. And here, especially in the preparation of technicians and assistant workers, on the results of whose work we pilots depend a great deal, we still have a considerable way to go."

#### A Model for Youth Organization Members

Pfc Pavel Michalek, operator [smerar] of communications technology, also joined in the conversation of Comrade Kubela: "We are learning from Soviet comrades with whom we have close working contacts. They are examples to us on how to implement political, specialist and technical information in our daily duties with the aim of achieving outstanding performance of our tasks. We also know what importance Soviet comrades attach to consistent observance of military regulations and how, in that spirit, they organize agitation and youth organization activities directly at the individual posts and worksites. For me, as a youth organization official, this was a source of much valuable experience. I always wanted to do vital work with people and that is exactly why my pledge honoring the October anniversary is in that direction. The pledges are supposed to help us fulfill our main tasks and strengthen our efforts to perform our military service as conscientiously as possible."

## Experience Helps

Then there was a lot of talk about practical findings with a mutual exchange of experiences. Air technology nowadays is very complicated and a substantial part of it consists of electronics. Every new finding that their Soviet friends willingly pass on to our technicians saves hundreds of thousands of hours of difficult work as well as considerable financial costs and reduces the percentage of even the smallest defects. Soviet airmen are glad to profit from our experiences as well. For example, getting grease off aircraft following repairs before it was given a new coating, has not been exactly the cleanest or healthiest job until recently. With the help of a civilian factory our technicians developed a preparation which makes this job a lot easier. Today our Soviet comrades follow this new procedure routinely, and not only in the Soviet Central Group of Forces [Czechoslovakia].

There was also a lot of talk about the improvement suggestion program. The procedure is not at all complicated, let alone bureaucratic: "We collected 15 new improvement suggestions. Take a look and see if any would be useful to you." And so, perhaps someone at the other end of the republic does not have to laboriously think up what our Soviet comrades have already successfully solved. Both sides are pleased at these exchanges and they know each other much better than simply by their surnames.

And if our airmen traditionally achieve outstanding results on an army-wide scale in socialist competition they will frankly tell you that, together with people's initiative, no small credit goes to the deliberate utilization of experiences of their Soviet friends.

## Continuing Living Traditions

The young communist, Pfc. P. Michalek, together with other comrades carefully examined the hall of combat traditions of the Soviet air force svázek [a corps, division, or brigade level equivalent] which began their long military course on the eve of World War II.

Heroism in many battles which members of the svázek demonstrated during the most difficult times for the Soviet Union, as well as all of progressive mankind, is deeply appreciated not only by their presentday successors provided with incomparably more sophisticated and effective air equipment and technology. Hundreds of beautiful gifts fill the Hall of Friendship. The Soviet airmen received them not only from their Czechoslovak comrades in arms but also from the workers of many industrial and agricultural plants. That speaks in a most convincing language--the language of sincere and deep friendship.

"The entire rich, almost 60-year old tradition of Soviet aviation shows us the most important thing that we can still learn from our Soviet friends," the PVOS deputy commander for political affairs, Maj General Bohumil Jerabek told us. "That is pride in belonging to a jednotka [can be a battalion, battery, company, platoon or a squadron] utvar, army, as well as the whole socialist community and the feeling of high personal responsibility stemming from it for the defense of our common affairs. And what should we wish our Soviet friends on their holiday? Just what members of aviation can wish one another--may the sky above us always be clear--our takeoffs smooth and landings soft."

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CSO: 2400

NOBEL PRIZE AWARD TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SCORED

[Editorial Report] Zagreb VJESNIK on October 14, 1977 on page 4 carried an article by Zeljko Brihta under the title "Prize for War" in which Brihta criticizes vehemently the Nobel Prize Award to Amnesty International. He notes that "although a Nobel Prize Award for the cold war has not been formally established, one can see that it has already been awarded many times." He states that both those who gave the awards and those who received them are mainly interested in "scoring a point against the East in the name of the West, in driving the East to the wall and on the whole in imposing their truth on whoever dares think differently..." Brihta sarcastically proposes a list of future candidates for the Nobel Prize; he names among others: Moshe Dayan who "has already accomplished so much in bringing peace to the Middle East, where war is said to be just another kind of peace;" Augusto Pinochet who "has established a death-like peace;" and John Vorster who wishes "total and absolute racial peace." He names Jerry Lewis as the most serious candidate. He also proposes NATO and the Warsaw Pact as candidates because "they maintain bloc peace in the world, nobody has ever guarded it with as many missiles as they have." He quotes Daniel Greensberg of the WASHINGTON POST, who proposes that the Nobel Prize be eliminated, but Brihta says that it, like a "natural catastrophe," has to exist.

CSO: 2800

## ALBANIA

### TIRANA UNIVERSITY CELEBRATES 20TH ANNIVERSARY

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 77 AU

[Text] A jubilee session devoted to the 20th anniversary of Tirana University was held this morning. The session was attended by representatives of economic enterprises, central departments, cultural, scientific and educational institutions, and professors and students. The session was also attended by Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee politburo member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers; Spiro Koleka, AWP Central Committee politburo member and deputy chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly; Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee politburo candidate member and Tirana district party committee secretary; AWP Central Committee members Nexhmije Hoxha and Fiqret Shehu; minister of education and culture, Tefta Cami; Aleks Buda, chairman of the academy of sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and others. A Prishtina university delegation was also present.

The session was opened by Tirana University rector Petrit Radovicka: docent Shpresa Zenelaj, vice-rector of the university delivered a report: "The party's and comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings at the foundation of the teaching and scientific work at the university." The session also heard 10 papers which reflected achievements in the consolidation of the ideological substance of all work at the university, as a fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the party's policy for the revolutionization of education. The papers dealt also with important problems concerning the natural, technical, philological, biological and medical sciences.

Also in the framework of the 20th anniversary of the university. A number of teaching and scientific films were shown in one of the halls of the palace of culture produced by the university. [as received]

A scientific session was also held today at the faculty of natural sciences.

CSO: 2020

## BULGARIA

### NEW BOOK ON MILITARY POLICY OF PARTY REVIEWED

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 15 Oct 77 p 2

[Review by Col Rangel Zlatkov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Za Voennata Politika na Partiyata" (On the Party's Military Policy) by D. Dzhurov, A. Semerdzhiev, K. Kosev and Khr. Dobrev, Military Publishing House, 1977]

[Text] Available to the readers is the interesting book "Za Voennata Politika na Partiyata." Its authors are Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, Col Gen Kiril Kosev and Col Gen Khristo Dobrev. With the publishing of this work, the Military Publishing House has filled in a gap.

Many authors have written about the military policy of the party, several books have been published, but they to one degree or another examine and explain only individual aspects of the large subject. In the just published work, the authors who are prominent contemporary military chiefs and leaders, have significantly broadened the coverage of the problem. In following the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the Party Program, they show that the people's army has been strengthened and even more is becoming established as an unshakable force for the defense of the socialist fatherland and a true school of communist indoctrination and physical conditioning of the youth, and for developing military and civil virtues in it.

The book contains four chapters. Each of them has its own social and political-military concern, and represents an independent scientific study, but taken together, they make up a whole and complete work concerning the work of the party and the state bodies to strengthen the armed forces of socialism and specifically the People's Army. The first chapter is entitled "The 11th Congress and the Military Policy of the Party." It examines the key and urgent questions, and important aspects are treated in a historical light relating to the position of the party on military questions, on the forming of military policy, and on the concerns for building up a new army.

The second chapter is devoted to the requirements for military readiness, and the training and indoctrination of the troops. The third considers the role, place and significance of party political work which with each passing day becomes more and more active, purposeful and offensive due to the increased role of the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations. These two chapters deal with strictly practical tasks which are carried out in everyday army life. The authors explain that the consistent application of party decisions in army life contributes to the ongoing consolidation of the personnel around the party line and policy, and to raising the combat readiness of the troops to a level of today's requirements. The main sources of the strength and might of the People's Army are its party leadership, and the constant concern of the Party Central Committee of the Politburo and personally of the first leaders of the Party and state, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who pay constant attention to the arming and life of the soldiers.

The fourth chapter entitled "The Combat Alliance of the Fraternal Armies" deals with the place of our armed forces in the defensive military-political Warsaw Pact, the reliable shield for protecting world peace. The fighting record is traced in historical sequence, and the vital necessity of a collective defense of the socialist commonwealth is shown. The bases of the unity and solidarity of the allied nations and their armies, and the constantly growing cooperation between our army and our brothers-in-arms from the other states are examined in a practical scientific light. The authors explain that our nation is conducting an active and constructive foreign policy of peace and cooperation, but international imperialism is continuously arming itself, it disturbs the peace, and for this reason requires that we must be always ready with weapons in hand to carry out our patriotic and international duty.

Through the entire book one can trace the notion that the People's Army must constantly strengthen, deepen and broaden its fraternity with the great Soviet army, the backbone of the Warsaw Pact. In actuality the words of Georgi Dimitrov are being realized that our army must be trained and indoctrinated in the model and fashion of its elder brother, the Soviet army.

The book "Za Voennata Politika na Partiyata" provides the Bulgarian public with knowledge and experience for strengthening the defense capability of the motherland and the combat might of the People's Army.

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## EAST GERMANY

### EAST BERLIN CRITICIZES DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 159, 22 Aug 77 p 1

[Text] The East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK affiliated with the GDR foreign ministry [Vol 22, No 8, Aug 77, pp 59-68, article by Dr Helmut Mardek and Prof Dr Renate Wuensche, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg,] has leveled criticism against the policies of many developing countries which reportedly wish to maintain stronger neutrality between the blocs.

Not a few among the nonaligned nations allegedly believe that the nonaligned movement should neutralize itself to a greater extent under the conditions of the international process of detente. With regard to this process there are reservations, according to DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, about accepting the international significance of the results achieved in Europe. In many instances, the correct demand for the expansion of relaxation zones is being diminished by an "undifferentiated demand ignoring the realities" for elimination of the "influence" and "the rivalries of the superpowers". As a rule, the demands for an improved position in world trade are directed equally and undifferentiatedly at the "developed countries," thus promoting a "wrong front line position". In this context, according to the journal, a particularly negative effect is produced by the thesis of the "superpowers' endeavors for hegemony" which is primarily directed against the Soviet Union and is prejudicial to the alliance relationships between the socialist and nonaligned nations.

The journal underscores that, as a matter of principle, it will be necessary in the future to delineate more clearly the relationships with the developing countries in accordance with their political position. It is wrong, in the journal's view, to overlook the intensifying process of differentiation which exists among these countries in matters of foreign policy; however, since a more precise pinpointing of this differentiation process is "quite complicated," thorough analyses are needed.

CSO: 2300



## EAST GERMANY

### LITTLE PROGRESS NOTED IN FIGHT AGAINST CANCER

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 195, 12 Oct 77, p 3

[Text] In past years, GDR cancer researchers have achieved only minimal progress in the fight against malignant tumors, Prof Dr Stephan Tanneberger, director of the GDR's Central Cancer Research Institute, has stated in the East Berlin journal DAS DEUTSCHE GESUNDHEITSWESSEN [Vol 32, No 40, 1977, pp 1873-1884; article by Prof Dr Stephan Tanneberger, H.-J. Herold and K. Ebeling] that especially in early tumor detection and treatment, in the GDR, one must proceed from a situation which can "in no wise be totally satisfactory." Particularly in cases of intestinal cancer in males there are still some "obvious reserves" for early diagnosis. Merely with regard to cervical cancer, according to the writer, has the distinct rise in the number of diagnosed elemental cancer forms produced a measurable decline of new cases of the disease. In this connection, Tanneberger demands mass examinations for the most frequently occurring types of tumors, limited, for reasons of cost, to scientifically determined risk groups.

Another problem, according to Tanneberger, is posed by the therapy situation in the GDR with regard to malignant tumors. The fact, he says, that the proportion of therapeutically treated cancer cases during past years has remained nearly unchanged at about 50 percent indicates not only the far-reaching stagnation of early recognition but also the "very sluggish development" of clinical oncology in the GDR.

As a result of the analysis of the situation, Tanneberger has leveled a series of demands at the responsible state organs. Accordingly, the development of a "state system for organized oncological care of the populace" is needed for the resolution of existing problems. Also needed, says the writer, are clearly outlined responsibilities to accomplish the primary tasks of the struggle against cancer, especially in the field of specialized oncological care. Moreover, improved material-technical equipment is needed for the various aspects of the fight against cancer, especially for the basis of radiation therapy. Finally, state and non-state activities in this field must be more systematically and more effectively coordinated.

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

POZSGAY QUIZZED ON STATUS OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 10, Oct 77 pp 3-5

[Interview with Minister of Culture Imre Pozsgay by Andras Kepes; abbreviated from an interview broadcast on 3 June 1977 by Kossuth Radio]

[Text] [Question] We have been hearing more and more recently about public culture. But we sometimes feel that the sincere interest is turning into a campaign. And the tasks themselves are usually forced into the background in a campaign. Is it not possible that this campaign is linked to the fact that many want to solve problems, under the slogan of public culture, which are not exclusively the concern of public culture?

[Answer] There are people who believe in that sort of thing. There are those who are shifting into this sphere social problems which should be solved elsewhere.

[Question] Could I ask you to mention a few areas where this campaign spirit rules excessively, where you feel that the real process of cultural life is no longer expressed?

[Answer] I might mention all of public culture more or less in this sense. And yet it does signify a public culture view and behavior, a desire for culture.

[Question] When I discussed this program with Comrade Pozsgay previously I thought that it might be limited to areas about which we hear relatively rarely. I wanted to call the program "With the Minister of Culture, Concerning Difficult Questions."

[Answer] Well, if we had chosen that title then we would not have had a program. Not because there are difficult questions but rather because we would not have had anything to talk about. You should ask but it is my feeling that you cannot ask questions which are simultaneously of general interest and "difficult." I will try to answer every question.

[Question] I think that if we take artistic life or some other social groups or larger or smaller communities there will be those who will feel that certain questions are difficult. Why is this?

[Answer] Obviously their interests are linked to these matters in such a way that an open discussion of them in public is difficult for them. But there are no difficult questions for the cultural administration. The internal relationships of artistic and cultural life are open to us, have opened up, we have insight into them, we feel that we have seen into these relationships even though, naturally, there may be interest groups which want to hide these relationships from us.

[Question] A number of artistic debates concluded recently. What could be the reason that virtually every one of them got hung up at the level of dealing in personalities, of minor formal problems, while more profound political questions did not come to the surface?

[Answer] During the 1960's social programs which could be summed up in theses became public, such things as the reorganization of the producer cooperatives and then the consolidation of agriculture, stimulating production and then the renewal of the economic guidance system. Some of the works of film arts, of art and literature corresponded to these, were adequate for these. As I would say, clear relationships stood before the artists. It is more difficult to orient oneself in society today and it is more difficult to grasp this society. This forces some to self-examination and anguish and permits others to take it easy. They turn away from these chief problems. True values have always had to struggle to be realized, to have social effect, to get the public or public opinion to accept them.

[Question] And yet many say, especially in connection with Hungarian film, that in the 1960's film arts, and other artistic branches too, were much more society centered. One of my acquaintances who is a film director has said that he feels that while people are discussing certain very important social problems in narrower circles in a way which is much more basic than they later see reflected from the movie screen we are failing to note that more people are going to movies.

[Answer] That is true. But the publicity and responsibility of a film is one thing and the atmosphere and responsibility of a friendly community, a small team or a social gathering is another. It is entirely natural for an artist to voice partial and not completely thought out ideas in these small communities. But every director, writer and artist wants to present the public with completed, fully developed works. But he cannot bring himself to do this if he feels that his judgment is not sure enough to orient himself in contemporary social relationships.

[Question] There are still many who expect simply an everyday political orientation from art although art also has the task of showing those real social contradictions which exist at present in Hungary -- or elsewhere in the world but having an effect on us.

[Answer] Yes, yes. But let me say to this that it is easy to formulate this theoretically. I agree with your every word. And I might add that art is an important tool for getting to know society. By recognizing and showing something it shows the contradictions and the possibility of overcoming them which is to say that it has a critical function in society. No one disputes the fact that art has this role, this critical function, because this would be to dispute art itself. If this is what is involved then there is no argument between us. The argument begins when we begin to read the work to see it on the screen. I consider this natural and I consider it natural that the office, cultural policy, should have the right to express its opinion about each work. Something else belongs to the critical function. The responsibility of criticism. I know that some want to paralyze criticism in advance with this, calling attention to the responsibility of criticism, of a critique of society. And yet I say that our cultural policy, at least since 1957, has not really had the intention of paralyzing this critical preparedness and capability. We have not demanded a direct politicization of relationships which would expect from works a publicistic verification of everyday affairs. But we do demand that a work have real content. And this requires good cooperation between artist and critic, between artist and cultural policy; it requires the role of fellow creator.

[Question] In your opinion, are there enough works, in any area of art, which really have a profound social criticism character?

[Answer] In my opinion there are not. There are not. But the argument here is, are those which do exist really of this character. If an artist, an author or a representative of the cultural administration thinks that sharp social criticism hides in some work then there is a possibility for cooperation. But if one feels that there is a sincere, constructive critical intent in his work and the other feels that there is an insincere, destructive, disruptive intent then conflict arises between politics and art. Between the author and the politician. This is not a difficult question but it is a difficult point of judgment. Where do you draw the line and who sets the criterion? My opinion about this is that cultural policy has the authentic role in setting the criteria, the standards -- that is, whether a work falls within the concept of freedom as interpreted by us or not -- not least of all because cultural policy can represent more general interests than this or that artist. The personal worldview and conviction of an artist may be as high as that of cultural policy. But nevertheless his creation is a personal act, personal ideas are expressed in it; cultural policy also represents the interests of the public and should include them. Let me say that our publishing policy, our film making and our exhibit policy operate in the spirit of artistic freedom and we could prove this with data to the extent that we usually reject publication only of works which violate the law.

[Question] This is perfectly understandable from the political side. It is perhaps more difficult to understand from the side of the artist. I think that in the final analysis the question really hangs on the fact, as Comrade Pozsgay has said, that the cultural leadership and cultural policy feel that they know what people's interests are.

[Answer] This question is not insoluble from the side of the artist either. But in so far as we know what the interest of the public is, not only its demands and needs but its real interest -- at least we are trying to know this in an everyday way -- this includes the fact that the public also has an interest in becoming acquainted with new initiatives, new possibilities of artistic fulfillment. Thus, for example, we are not against experiments. We have gigantic state institutions serving the general public and we are creating new state institutions all the time but we have also created layers within this system of state institutions where there is room for experiment and new initiatives, where the public is not barred from such experiments and initiatives either, so even the most daring innovator, the most daring and most extreme artist can bring his works out for a certain type of public test. We cannot guarantee to protect them from the public though.

[Question] Would you include among theater experiments the provincial, so-called avant garde experiments too? I am thinking here primarily of the Kaposvar production of "Godot" or the production of "Caligula" in Pecs. Let me tell you what my problem is. I have talked a great deal with young theater people and I keep hearing that the cultural administration will not permit these works to be shown in Pest.

[Answer] Unfortunately I have not seen the plays you mentioned. I know the plays, of course, I know their content. I can say of both of them that they really do belong in the sphere of experiments and when I stress that cultural policy represents certain interests then this includes the fact that cultural policy is a synthesis of certain interests.

[Question] Many say that the public would go to the theater even in Pest if these productions were presented.

[Answer] Social public opinion, some social opinions, would not accept them if they were given great publicity in the capital. And we feel, at least it is my opinion, that it is better -- even if it sounds a bit scandalous -- if cultural policy decides on the basis of the judgment of these forces that one experiment should appear here and another there or in a third place.

[Question] The comrade minister is saying that he is defending experiments against conservative taste when he takes this position but I feel that he is also defending conservative taste against the experiments, against an intent of renewal.

[Answer] I don't think so. Let me add that in the past decade the public has been subjected to a number of tests in Budapest theatrical life -- although I know you will list counter-examples -- and those who are really interested in experiments could find them. Some of the provincial productions have been brought up, they could be seen, but the behavior of the public in regard to them could be -- how shall I say it -- misleading. If I take the largest theaters then 9,000-10,000 people can see two productions, or three or ten, but usually only 1,000 or 2,000 and to make the exaggerated interest of these 1,000 or 2,000 people into social public opinion -- this would be misleading.

[Question] Then let us turn to another, perhaps a little more difficult matter, if we are to talk about the role of the public. I refer to the Pest performance of the Kapsóvár production of "State Department Store." This production came to Pest, but for only one evening. And the public literally stormed the theater -- there were many more people than there were seats -- they tried to get in through the prompter's box and the orchestra pit. Might it not have been worth while to arrange several performances of this piece?

[Answer] Look, the Budapest performance of "State Department Store" calls attention to certain hysterical phenomena. These hysterical phenomena derive from confusions in historical awareness. I belong to the generation which could have seen, although very young, almost as a child, the original production of "State Department Store." Not the persiflage, not the irony, but the original "State Department Store" filled with faith. The "State Department Store" which played at that time expressed certain political content, a world which hid the real relationships of the time with operetta, with sweetly plaintive or sparkling musical effects and text. But the society which lived here then was an active society which wanted to work, which believed that one must stand on the side of what "should be" and not start from the side of what "is" and at that time we rather confused our desires with the real possibilities. There is a certain sort of historical break in public awareness, in public thinking. Those generations which have grown up since, especially those who became adults after the 1956 counter-revolution, do not know sufficiently the political-historical experiences of that age; for example, they do not know, among other things, about the violations of the law nor do they know that generations lived here with faith and conviction who undertook to transform society at that time with profound conviction. Here these two generations came into conflict. The one which goes to laugh at the irony and the persiflage, at what they believed and what they thought. The other, those who were there in the 1950's, feel themselves offended and come into social conflict that they should be abused and made to be sorry for what they did. I think that this was not what the play intended; I think the entire piece is a cheerful settling of accounts with an historical period of bad memory. But this is not its social effect. Its social effect is not the effect intended by the director and this is why it was thought that there was no need to cause a clash between these two generations over "State Department Store."

[Question] Two people can be friends even if they had a dispute earlier. A generation really has grown up which did not receive the history book about this age which is increasingly required. And it is natural that this generation views the realities of the 1950's through different spectacles than those who lived through them personally. But if we try to mute the surfaces of these clashes then I believe we are only postponing the problem.

[Answer] There is no need to mute the surfaces of the clashes; but the operation should be carried out in another sphere of social awareness and social knowledge. You mentioned a history book perhaps this continuity and discontinuity, this dialectic should be included in the history books because it is my opinion that the Kapsovár director of "State Department Store," who certainly -- I emphasize this -- took up this work with honorable intentions, intervened badly into our social relationships and aided not a linking up of the generations but rather their opposition, the building of walls between them. And this is why it was a cultural policy problem.

[Question] Is it not possible that we are exaggerating a bit the significance of each such production? If works could have positive effects of the magnitude we attribute to their negative effects then we could change society, or the world, with a single work.

[Answer] Let me say that there are two of us here talking about an event by means of which, perhaps, I can illustrate the problems and difficulties of cultural policy. It was your question and it was straight talk. But I heard similarly straight talk from the other side too. "Where is cultural guidance here, where is cultural policy here which permits this scandal, this work and this behavior which gnaws and chews at the roots of the system?" Because your opinion is only one opinion in this matter; the other opinion, which was conveyed to us just as strongly, perhaps even more strongly, was: Is there any determined cultural guidance if it tolerates giving publicity to matters which go to the foundations of the system, handling such matters badly?

[Question] But perhaps we agree that there is a difference in view between the provincial theaters and the Pest theaters.

[Answer] A difference in view, creative method and style? Many say that real innovations have been forced out into the provinces because this is a limited public which makes it possible for artists to try out their innovations, their avant garde theatrical programs. In my opinion this is not the fundamental reason. The fundamental reason is a very profane, earthy matter. The provincial theaters are more easily forced to take certain initiatives. The conditions under which they play, the short run of their productions prompt them and force them to take certain initiatives

which artists and authors cannot pull off in big houses, in the Budapest theaters. Let me give an example from Pest. Theater 25 is an "avant garde" theater -- I put it in quotes -- not because its program is straining for avantgardism at any price but rather because it seats 90 people and has a stage the size of a plate and is forced to present things using the most original means. We do not consider these original means scandalous -- where such means of expression are possible we support them and we do not ignore them. The large Budapest theaters have a structure -- in the physical sense of the word and even to a certain extent in the dramatic-turgical sense -- which has developed over a century. They are a little rigid and cannot integrate the various theatrical innovations which have arisen in the country but we see this too and we also would like to change it, not least of all in cooperation with the Budapest theaters.

[Question] There may be a somewhat similar problem in our film trade policy.

[Answer] We are not satisfied with our programs policy including the film program policy and we have expressed this in the most official forums too. But let me say something about the limitations on film trade. A decrease in the number of movie goers has become a general phenomenon in Europe. We hope that there will be a change in this -- as the interest in art films suggests -- similar to that in theater attendance which has taken place since the end of the 1960's. But now it is fairly general that the number of movie goers has decreased. Even with a diminished number of movie goers we are fifth in Europe. Film production determines film trade. In the first place it is fortunate that we have domestic Hungarian film making. I say it is fortunate because some countries have responded to the film crisis by stopping film making. We constantly produce each year the 18-20 feature films which we have been producing for a decade. This is one thing; we should do it even if we know that this film making too had its low points, and not only unjustly -- due to the general abstention from film viewing -- but also because the number of movie goers decreased due to abstention from Hungarian films. We have no say in films made abroad; they offer a certain selection there, especially in regard to films made in the West or in capitalist countries, from which we can select on a business basis. So there are business considerations and business reasons. The other thing is that perhaps there is a certain indolence in film purchasing activity, an unwillingness to take risks. We have discovered, for example, that there are many progressive films made at a high artistic level to be found in Western Europe, in the developing countries and in the capitalist world which examine the problems of the world not entirely from our point of view and because of the difference in view some of our film purchasing committees do not dare to bring in such films. We should be more courageous here, starting from the position that the progressive content of a film does not depend on the land of its birth but rather on the intent of its creator and the abilities and talents of its creators. If they make progressive films in a capitalist country then we should buy them from a



capitalist country. So we want to make changes in film purchasing, in the programs policy. We are also seeking other methods of circulation; there have been initiatives in so-called social circulation, giving publicity to works containing more definite elements of social criticism.

[Question] Let us turn to another area. To graphic arts. There is a similarly important problem here: the graphic arts jury. Comrade Pozsgay has referred to it in a speech too. The formulation was that "trust has been shaken in the state institutions for the graphic arts." The general assembly of the Graphic Arts Federation was held recently. How do you feel, has there been any change in this area?

[Answer] There has been a change in our conception. The general assembly could not bring a change by itself -- this is not its function. But the general assembly could call attention, could call our attention to the problems of the state institutions for graphic arts and industrial arts life. The errors follow from a certain rigidity or ossification of these institutions and from the danger which arises at such a time that some will come closer to the making of decisions and others will get farther away. They debated the correctness of the decisions, the correctness of the decisions of the juries, and, as it turned out, frequently with justice and reason. This prompted us to announce that we would try to modernize the institutional system and enterprises for graphic arts life, to adapt them to the requirements of contemporary graphic arts and social life. I would like to say something else. The patron, the customer, the dealer in graphic arts is the state or the public institutions. So proximity thereto is a personal interest too. I say it with apprehension but it must be said. The Arts Fund of the Hungarian People's Republic has more than 5,000 graphic arts and industrial arts members; and the Graphic Arts and Industrial Arts Federation has almost 1,000 members. So I must ask and I must say: Is society really obliged to support 5,000 to 6,000 artists and undertake to feel a pang of social conscience if 5,000 artists are not living off art in, for example, the area of graphic arts? Is it not possible that they have started a "build-up" in a way which betrays their profession just to maintain or perhaps overturn the balance of various groups, cliques and interests? I say this with great trepidation and lack of courage because I really have not been able to look deeply into this phenomenon but as a phenomenon, I think, it is interesting.

[Question] The Comrade Minister has said that the cultural administration intends to change or transform certain things. What possibility is there for this really? I know that the cultural administration has received some branch supervision rights.

[Answer] Yes, supervisory rights and branch responsibility too.

[Question] What can the cultural administration do when it must defend its interests against other authorities? For example against industry, which

frequently seems to have no economic interest in developing, let us say, design or industrial arts.

[Answer] We have supervisory rights over the institutions guided by us and over the institutions guided by the councils and we have branch responsibility for our entire cultural-artistic life regardless of the area in which or the authority under which this activity takes place. But very frequently we can exercise branch responsibility only in the form of protest, in some negative form. For example, the Lektoratus [? artistic judge ?] would have as one of its roles protesting or not authorizing the industrial production of unartistic, trashyworks which violated or offended public taste. Enterprise interest, of course, could often run counter to this. The planning and developing of industrial designs, industrial designs which express function well, is not yet the direct interest of every branch of industry. The products of very many branches of industry sell well even in this way on domestic or foreign markets. Such branches of industry regard design planning and industrial arts intervention in their activity just as an expense.

[Question] Can't you intervene in such a case?

[Answer] It is very difficult to intervene if you are acting against someone's interest. Economic relationships would have to develop so that the enterprise felt it to be its own internal necessity to have to fight for the consumer. And to fight for the consumer it would have to produce more suitable designs, more suitable articles and tools, more suitable machine tools. I consider this to be the driving force with which our esthetic judgment could ally itself.

[Question] But industry cannot feel the need of this. And the public will not demand it because if I -- to simplify the example -- want a plate of this or that sort and there are none then I take what I can get. So I do not understand what will encourage industry to take up industrial design planning?

[Answer] If we succeed in changing the views and needs of the consumer -- and reject what is obsolete and unsuitable.

[Question] Then what will we eat off of, to stock to the plate?

[Answer] That is why I said that as long as the relationship between consumer and producer is "eat it or not, that's all you get" we have no essential say in these relationships.

[Question] Thank you, Comrade Pozsgay, for giving us this opportunity for a talk.

[Answer] Thank you for your interest.

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## POLAND

### U.S. ATTITUDES ON CSCE, WORLD ROLE ATTACKED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 77 p 1

[Commentary by M. W.: "From my Vantage Point"]

[Excerpt] At the Belgrade deliberations yesterday, the head of the U.S. delegation, Arthur Goldberg, after days of keeping quiet and looking around, went into the attack against the socialist countries, again making himself out to be a defender of human rights. He tried to get on Poland's case tee; that is, he tried to ingratiate himself with the so-called dissidents. All his reproaches against us can be paraphrased, to take an example, in the following manner: "Why do you beat your wife on Thursdays?"

What is someone supposed to reply who does not beat his wife on Thursdays, who does not beat anyone at all, and who does not have a wife in the first place?

The nub of the matter is that certain Western circles have lately been attempting to divide the Helsinki principles into passive and active. Such principles as sovereign equality, respect for rights deriving from sovereignty, restraint from the threat of the use of force, the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of a country, and the settlement of disputes--these circles take these as passive principles.

One can ask about attitudes concerning the preservation of peace when someone, who is looking for his lumps, speaks after Helsinki about the possibility of carrying out peaceful border modifications.

Even the most brilliant presidents must see that coexistence and international cooperation are not a matter of somebody's mood, or of some exceptional affection for the USSR, for Romania, or for Poland...and for socialism; they are an imperative, which we have attained, deriving from reality, from the alignment of forces. Someone great supposedly prays several times a day for the preservation of peace. Indeed, a certain commandment of the Old Testament says "Thou shalt not kill," and allows us to judge that cooperation for the maintenance of peace will not remain without a blessing from the On Highest. We are always ready to help divine commandments along. In matters of peace we should not flee too high; it is sufficient to respect--but to do so actively--these principles described as passive. And to relent from the obsolete philosophy about the leading role which the U.S. supposedly must play in the contemporary world.

POLAND

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ACADEMY ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 40, 2 Oct 77 p 8

[Article by Bogdan Bartnikowski]

[Text] In this academy, the student differs somewhat from students in the civilian and even in the military academy. If there is an analogy, one can find it in the case of only two military academies, the Political Military Academy and the General Staff Academy. There, as here in the ASW [Internal Affairs Academy], students are officers who have graduated from the military colleges and have had several years field training, such as in a unit, an institution, a command headquarters or a ministry. Those students were selected for academic studies because they have demonstrated very good skills.

The Internal Affairs Academy was established recently, 5 years ago. In the first period of its activity, the academy followed standards set up by the military but it had to take into account the uniqueness of the ministry's service whose growing needs led to the establishment of the new academy to educate cadres for police and security forces.

Cooperation of the academy with the military academies is the result of an agreement regulating the problems of cooperation between academies of two ministries and is not limited to the utilization of organizational models. Some problems of the service of the present ASW students have been completely worked out by military scientists, and now they have to be adapted for the use of the police and security forces service. Many educators and scientists of the ASW have many years of service and military studies behind them.

Many ASW students wear military uniforms because professional soldiers of the Polish Army can also expand their knowledge here, particularly in the area of law and investigative-inquiry, indispensable to officers of the Military Internal Service.

The ASW is young with only a 5 year history of operation and teaching and three graduating classes, which have provided the organs of internal affairs and the army a few hundred master's degree graduates--specialists who are highly regarded in three basic areas: law, administration and political science.

From the first day the academy was organized, particular attention has been given to making it as modern as possible in the area of programs, teaching methods and equipment. Completing a master's program in only 3 years requires not only a well thought-through organization, but a large effort on the part of the students. The ambition of the ministry and academy authorities was to include in the study program the complete curriculum given to students in regular university law schools and in addition to introduce a special program of knowledge indispensable to ministry lawyers in the department. How is it possible to wade through such an enormous amount of scientific material? The academic year lasts 10 months. There is 1 month of practical training during which students collect material for the master's thesis while performing duties in specific jobs in the field. There is only 1 month for vacations. In addition to this, the instructional staff has been fully utilized in seminars, consultation duties and other forms of individual work with students. Thus, there is no time to waste in a 3-year program at the ASW. This is a period of intensive study leading to a master's degree in a specified specialty.

The ASW basically consists of four institutes with 19 specialized faculties, a School of Organization and Management and a School of Foreign Languages. During its 5 years of existence, the academy has attracted highly qualified instructional cadres. The team, which guarantees a high level of studies, consists of 28 professors, assistant professors and qualifying assistant professors with doctor's degrees and 49 instructors with doctor's degrees. This year alone, the ASW teaching staff will be increased by several persons who have graduated from postgraduate doctoral studies in the military academies. Two weeks ago, one of the students in the academy defended his doctoral thesis in the General Staff Academy. The professor conferring the degree was a scientist of that academy, Colonel, J. Madejski.

Unusually interesting in the academy are the specialized departments such as criminology, forensic medicine, road traffic etc. These and other departments are indispensable in this type of academy which combines departments of general and political knowledge with a vast specialized knowledge of high standards.

The instructional staff and students of the ASW maintain close ties with the staff of the FSO [factory of passenger vehicles] and other production plants and institutions and with high school and university students. Many scientists on the ASW teaching staff began their teaching career in military schools of higher learning. The president of the ASW, Colonel Zenon Trzcinski, was transferred from the Political Military Academy 5 years ago because he was considered to be an experienced teacher capable of handling the difficult task of organizing the academy. He has remained in this position to this day, fully utilizing his vast knowledge acquired in the army and expanded during the 5 years of directing the Internal Affairs Academy.--the unique academy which is very important for the order and security of the nation and its citizens.

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POLAND

JAROSZEWICZ SPEAKS ON CULTURE, ECONOMY IN SZCZECIN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 77 pp 1, 4 AU

[Report on speech by Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz at the 12 October inauguration of the cultural season in Szczecin]

[Excerpt] Our party and government will support with utmost determination all the efforts of the large numbers of committed, experienced, dedicated, creative and other cultural workers to develop conditions in which to deepen the integration of society. This will be done through daily cultural-educational work to select from the rich regional traditions all the valuable elements shaping contemporary patriotism, such as the history of the struggle for national and social liberation, the revolutionary workers movement, and the riches of our folklore.

We are fully aware of the essence and conditions of the country's further socioeconomic development. We want to accelerate considerably the rate of housing construction, to promote the food economy and to increase the production of market and export goods. This is why we attach such great importance to improving the processes of economic development in order to exploit all the possibilities for boosting production and to improve the quality of work.

These issues were debated by the Ninth Plenum. We must always bear in mind that judiciously investing in culture is also profitable for material production, industry, farming, trade--in a word, for the entire great process of the country's modernization.

For its part, the government will provide increasingly better conditions for propagating the most valuable artistic achievements among the large sections of the population, primarily among the workforces in large industrial centers.

I can state with great satisfaction that the party's slogan "The World of Labor Is Allied with Culture and Art" has met with a very keen response among the artistic and cultural centers in the Szczecin territory. There is overwhelming evidence that the implementation of this slogan has enriched the

activity aimed at establishing a close cooperation between creative and other cultural workers and the workforces of large production plants with new features and new experience.

We now have a good tradition of dedicating each succeeding year to specific areas of cultural activities and of giving priority to the lines of work dictated by up-to-date social needs. We have dedicated this year to "culture where we actually live."

Spreading socialist culture where we actually live is to us a very important issue at the present stage of the country's socioeconomic development, which, as you know, cannot be successfully implemented by production plants, scientific centers and other institutions alone. Progress in the implementation of this development depends on each one of us, on a high level of social discipline, on the general increase in the standards of knowledge and qualifications and on rallying individual skills in solving common tasks. Expanding and modernizing various forms of amusement and recreation, a closer cooperation between parents and the centers run by the Ministry of Education, artistic functions organized for whole families, public performances of professional arts, more concern for amateur arts--these are some of the major priorities of this year's plans.

The population of the city and Voivodship of Szczecin is especially entitled to be proud of its attitude and achievements. Allow me, on behalf of the party and government leadership, to offer you our thanks for your work in the field of fostering socialist national culture and for your contribution to the cause of our fatherland's construction.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

# PROSPECTS, RESULTS OF NUCLEAR TEST BAN VIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 77 p 7

[Article by M. Berczowski]

[Text] In Geneva, negotiations on a complete ban of nuclear testing have resumed. The participants are the USSR, the United States and the Great Britain. These negotiations have started in an atmosphere favorable to rapprochement of ideas and promising better hopes than anytime since the talks were agreed to take place.

Signs of a thaw have appeared on the international horizon. Many signs show that restraints in developing the detente process which were visible in the Western policy are beginning to subside. The Belgrade meeting of nations--participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe--was opened in a very optimistic atmosphere, mainly because lately Soviet-American relations have turned to the better.

During the September talks in the White House, president Carter and Foreign Minister Gromyko declared on behalf of their governments a desire to improve mutual relations. At the same time, there was some convergence of the positions of both powers on new arrangements for limiting strategic nuclear missile armaments. Following this, president Carter in his speech to the United Nations underlined the necessity to conclude disarmament agreements. He stated, among other things that the time has come to end nuclear testing.

There is no doubt that a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests would have profound international importance--psychological, signaling the intention of the great powers and practical, putting a limit on the armaments race. It is known that the first arrangement, in 1963, prohibited testing on the surface of earth, under water and in space. But underground tests of nuclear weapons were not included in this arrangement. Last year the United States and the USSR limited the strength of their underground tests through mutual agreement. This has created the basis for the present negotiations.

Their success would mean erection of the first barrier on the way to introducing new systems of nuclear weapons and improving existing weapons which mostly requires testing of missile warheads and bombs. Thus, a total testing



ban would indirectly limit the expansion of armament potential, and making it international (like the arrangement of 1963), with participation of a great number of countries, would lessen the threat of spreading nuclear weapons, that is, the obtaining of weapons by nations which at the present time do not have them.

On the other hand, total elimination of nuclear weapons tests would contribute to increasing trust in international relations and to further progress in development of cooperation.

Nations of the socialist community, and above all, the USSR as the nuclear power, have always put the question of a total ban on nuclear weapon tests on the daily agenda, Minister Gromyko confirmed this position of the USSR in the resolution submitted to the United Nations' Secretary General at the end of September.

On the international calendar, there is also the USSR proposal advocating a ban on developing any new weapon systems. If the West wants to display a readiness to agreements, it would be logical that it should refrain from intensifying the armament race (for example, stopping the planned neutron bomb) in the period when it is participating in preparations to limit this race.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW MINING UNDERSECRETARY--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Dr Eng Bronislaw Podgorski an undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Mining. B. Podgorski, who was born in Bielsko-Biala in 1927 to a workers family and has held the post of director of the Pstrowski Combine of Coal Mines in Zabrze since 1973, is a member of the PZPR. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 p 8 AU]

ELBLAG PARTY PLENUM--The 29 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Elblag, which was chaired by Antoni Polowniak, the committee's first secretary, appraised the state of voivodship services and mapped out the lines of their development up to 1980. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 pp 1, 9 AU]

KIELCE PARTY PLENUM--The 29 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce, which was chaired by Aleksander Zarajczyk, the committee's first secretary, appraised the activities and further improvements in the performance of the lowest people's councils. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 pp 1, 9 AU]

LEGNICA PARTY PLENUM--The 29 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Legnica, which was chaired by Stanislaw Cieslik, the committee's first secretary, discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization in its work with young people. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 pp 1, 9 AU]

TEJCHMA ACTIVITY--Jozef Tejchma, PZPR Politburo member, vice premier and minister of art and culture, toured Przemysl Voivodship on 29 September and studied problems of conserving historical monuments and of further spreading culture in the voivodship. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 p 8 AU]

PEASANT STRIKE ANNIVERSARY--The 2-day scientific-popular session in Tarnow to mark the 40th anniversary of the peasant strike began on 29 September. The session is attended by Marshal of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa, who is chairman of the United Peasant Party, and by Central Committee secretary Jozef Pinkowski. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 p 8 AU]

TARNOW PARTY PLENUM--The 26 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnow discussed the preparatory work of voivodship educational centers in connection with next year's implementation of the reform of the national educational system. Stanislaw Gebala, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnow, chaired the plenum. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 77 pp 1, 4 AU]

WLOCLAWEK PARTY PLENUM--The 26 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek evaluated the performance of transportation enterprises and the problems of further improvements in freight and passenger traffic in Kujawy and Dobrzyn territory. Edward Szymanski, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek, was in the chair. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 77 pp 1, 4 AU]

CZESTOCHOWA PARTY PLENUM--The 28 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Czestochowa, which was chaired by Jozef Grygiel, first secretary of the committee, discussed the intensification of the market production in the voivodship in 1977-1980, and the development trends of this production up to 1985. The plenum was attended by Zdzislaw Kurowski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat and head of the Central Committee Department of Light Industry, Trade and Consumption, and by Vice Premier Tadeusz Pyka. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 pp 1 AU]

NOWY SACZ PARTY PLENUM--The 28 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Nowy Sacz, which was chaired by Henryk Kostecki, first secretary of the committee, discussed the unity of ideoeducational activities. The plenum was attended by Wieslaw Klimczak, head of the Central Committee Department of Ideoeducational Work. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 p 1 AU]

LUKASIEWICZ ACTIVITY--Jerzy Lukasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, attended the opening of the new cultural year in Warsaw on 28 September. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 p 1 AU]

KRUCZEK ACTIVITY--Wladyslaw Kruczek, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended the opening of the cultural year in Wroclaw on 28 September. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 p 1 AU]

VCP DELEGATION IN POLAND--On 28 September, Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received the delegation of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Department of Industry, led by deputy department head (Iran Dep), and discussed with it Poland's socio-economic development, party work in industry, the efforts to improve economic management and the possibilities for the further development of Polish-Vietnamese economic cooperation. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

KOWALCZYK ACTIVITY--Gen Bde Stanislaw Kowalczyk, PZPR Politburo member and minister of internal affairs, on 28 September handed over to the Kalisz command of the voivodship's citizens militia a banner endowed by the Kalisz voivodship people in recognition of the militia's services in protecting law and order. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

GRUDZIEN, WERBLAN ACTIVITIES--Zdzislaw Grudzien, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice, and Central Committee secretary Andrzej Werblan, met with academic teachers from seven higher schools in Katowice Voivodship on 26 September and discussed with them ideopolitical tasks of higher schools. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

PZPR IDEOEDUCATIONAL TRAINING--A training course for the voivodship ideological cadres on the subject of the key issues of the implementation of the Seventh Congress Resolution on Ideoeducational Work ended in the Central Committee Center for Improving Leading Cadres in Jadwisin on 26 September. Jerzy Lukasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, met with the participants in the training course. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

SILESIAN TRANSPORTATION TASKS--The 26 September Katowice session, which discussed the very considerable transportation tasks facing the Silesian railroadmen in the last months of this year, was attended by Zbigniew Zielinski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat and head of the Central Committee Department of Heavy Industry, Transportation and Construction. In the fourth quarter of this year the Silesian railroadmen are expected to transport 54,000,000 tons of freight, including some 39,000,000 tons of coal, large amounts of metallurgical products, construction materials and farm produce and to overcome considerable rolling stock difficulties. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2600

## ROMANIA

### ROLE OF EUROPE IN CHANGING WORLD DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 2 (36)  
Apr-Jun 77 pp 243-254

[Article by Corneliu Bogdan, former Romanian ambassador to the US: "Europe In A Changing World"]

[Text] What is Europe's place in today's world, a world of rapid and revolutionary changes, a world of unprecedented affirmation of the idea of national independence?

The question appears to us to be extremely current, especially in a period of intense debates and lively political activity aimed at finding the paths and adequate means for continuing the process begun at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE].

This is clearly because Europe's vision of itself cannot be achieved unless, in responding naturally to the interests of the people of the continent, it will at the same time respond to the needs for the development of the entire contemporary international system.

#### I

A primary observation that must be recognized is that, in general, regional or continental understandings and cooperation take on new significance under the conditions of the current international system.

Actually, this system has taken on a global character, but, at the same time, it is in a continuing process of diversification as a result, first of all, of an ever more powerful affirmation of the personality of all the nations, new and old.

Thus, by having to blend the global requirements with those of each member of the international community or, in other words, the requirements of interdependence with those of independence, the new international system also becomes especially complex and under these circumstances regional understanding and cooperation take on, in our opinion, a special importance.

Actually, by serving the interests of the states of the respective regions, they introduce into the complexity of the developing international system an element of balance, facilitating its operation in the interest of understanding and general cooperation.

Certainly, not just any regional understanding automatically is of a positive nature.

In order to take on a positive nature, it must respond to certain objective needs and regional common interests determined by common historical and cultural traditions, by geographic proximity and by contemporary political realities.

Similarly, in order to be viable in the new international context, regional understandings must not be restrictive or closed towards the world or, even worse, opposed to global interests and they must not become instruments of domination in the hands of more powerful countries.

Europe's situation represents a graphic example from this point of view.

There is no other need to demonstrate the viability of a European identity than to mention the old historical traditions and treasure of material and spiritual values which make Europe one of the principal cradles of modern civilization and which led Edmund Burke to say in 1797 that "no inhabitant of Europe would ever feel like an exile in any other part of the continent."

And, one can imperatively add to this the acute current realities which make inter-European cooperation an essential factor for peace in the entire world.

First of all, the European continent is directly tied to one of the fundamental problems of world security: the removal of the threat represented by nuclear arms and, in general, the arms race. Although Europe itself is today a region, as is said, of lower political tension than in other regions of the world, our continent remains the zone of the main concentrations and confrontations of military forces in the world. Not just European interests, but also the interests of peace and security of all people call imperatively for military disengagement and real disarmament in Europe and any inter-European understanding along these lines would be supported and welcomed throughout the entire world.

Likewise, the ever more necessary inter-European cooperation in the fields of scientific research, energy and transportation, in the protection of the environment and in the progressive reduction of trade barriers on the basis of equality and mutual respect would have a powerful influence upon world progress in these areas vital for all mankind, especially keeping in mind the weight the CSCE participant states have in world economic and scientific activities.

On the other hand, any European formula that would have as its objective the re-establishment of Europe's role in the world, by reshaping the continent or even a part of it, as a "center of power," especially military power, would be contrary to the positive objective trends in international life, would stir up suspicions, would isolate Europe from the rest of the world and would turn upon the interests of peace and security of the European people themselves.

The future of the people of Europe and the world rests in the elimination of the policy of force and military balance of power between centers of power (whether there be two, three, five or more centers) and rests upon the renewal of relations between states on the basis of democracy, equality and international legality.

The special significance of CSCE and the Final Act rests upon those things which open new paths for Europe towards these goals.

Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, points out that "CSCE was truly an historic moment with profound implications for the evolution of our continent and the world."

"It is the first time in the long and troubled history of Europe that such a meeting of all states has taken place and that such a political event of great magnitude has occurred. An event where the states adopted certain understandings and certain documents so important for the destiny of the people of the continent and for the cause of peace and international co-operation."

"The preparations for the conference, the elaboration of these documents and their adoption by consensus and in full unanimity powerfully demonstrated, once again, that when states begin with the sincere desire to work together, when they work on the basis of full equality and mutual respect and when they take into consideration the positions of each country, they can arrive at agreements and understandings that are truly acceptable and consider the interests of all people."

"The signing of the Helsinki documents marked the beginning of a new era which we can correctly characterize as decisive for the fulfillment of security and peace in Europe."

"It is essential now to concentrate all efforts to carry out, through concrete actions, the principles noted in the signed documents and all the pledges assumed by the states that participated in the Conference."<sup>1</sup>

## II

If the dialectic connection between independence and interdependence is the principal characteristic of the contemporary international system, nations

remain and will remain for the foreseeable future the basic political units, with respect for national independence remaining the key factor which allows the above mentioned dialectic connection to serve the interests of society, avoiding its becoming a source of confrontation.

From this point of view, Europe is not an exception to the general trends of the contemporary world.

The success of the separatist party in the elections in Quebec, the evolution of the Flemish-Wallonian rapport in Belgium, the assertion of the claims of certain nationalities in Great Britain and the growing opposition to a series of supranational political and economic formula and certain activities of some multinational companies emphasize, regardless of our evaluation of the substance of these phenomena, the vitality of the national sentiment in the European countries and the fact that if their significance is ignored or minimalized there will inevitable be confrontations.

From this point of view, the most graphic development appears to us to be the evolution of the process of economic and political integration in Western Europe. It is a known fact that in recent times this process has stagnated and the prospects for a significant resumption appear in doubt.

Some of the more pessimistic observers even maintain that the absence of a resumption in the next decade will put in danger the results obtained to date.

Beyond the circumstantial causes connected to the economic crisis, the stagnation, first of all, is clearly due to the fact that any new significant step of economic or political integration clashes with the national interests of one or another of the states involved and that these states are not prepared to abandon these interests.

Professor D. Calleo, a careful and competent observer of European affairs, writes, "The European community was always a confederal bloc. The states adhered to it not (emphasis ours) to renounce their sovereignty, but to protect it. This element, so broadly not understood, is central to any realistic evaluation of the complex interstate structure of Europe and, consequently, of its global and regional role..."

"In today's world, in a practical sense liberty and sovereignty mean the capacity to create your national framework that will allow you to progress towards the goals desired by modern societies."

"As long as these commitments (like the ones to the Common Market) promote these goals, without provoking an intolerable sentiment of being dominated by an external force or a foreign elite, a state will maintain its commitments to integration."



"However, when this integration begins to threaten self-determination, either by interfering with national goals or by perceiving an effective state of control over its internal affairs, a state will want to withdraw from integration to the degree to which it is capable."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, reality is even more the single realistic, rational concept of a new European unity, a unity based upon diversity, respect for the identity and personality of each nation.

President Ceausescu said, "In my opinion, the goal of our activities must be the creation of a united Europe, based upon independent nations and peaceful and equal cooperation in the rights between all states regardless of their social order or size."<sup>3</sup>

Certainly, within the framework of such a unity, sub-regional understandings (such as those in the Balkan, Mediterranean and Baltic regions) have an important place in the same spirit in which pan-European understandings have an important place within the overall world system.

Likewise, there naturally appear special relations of cooperation between countries where the identity of the social orders determines specific problems and areas of joint interest, of course, with the condition that such forms of cooperation are to remain open and not oppose general cooperation.

Europe as such, however, cannot be identified with a certain ideology or with a certain social-political order.

We frequently hear that the position of the socialist countries, which maintains that peaceful coexistence does not mean the end of the ideological struggle, would constitute a barrier in the path of cooperation between states.

But, the socialist states are merely recognizing an objective, factual situation.

The ideological struggle and the confrontation of ideas were not invented by the communists, but are part of the objective phenomena of human society going back to its very beginning.

European civilization and culture has been characterized by diversification and has offered a fertile ground for the confrontation of ideas, thus stimulating the progress of social thought and practice.

Marxism itself, a product of European thought, is today unanimously recognized, even by its adversaries, as an integral part of contemporary civilizations.

If some of the confrontations between ideas were also tied to social and national revolutions, this is, similarly, an objective process.

Moreover, the right of people to have a revolution was proclaimed for the first time in a form developed by the fathers and leaders of the American and French revolutions.

A new system of international relations as such cannot and must not intervene in ideological confrontations or attempt to influence the evolution of social, political and national phenomena which these confrontations reflect. The sole duty of such a system is to create the international framework in which all these evolutions, and, sometimes, even revolutions, can find their resolution without external intervention, in accordance with the wishes of the interested people.

This fact is even more true under the conditions of the increasing scope of the revolutionary processes throughout the world.

"The problem of defending peace under the conditions of growing social revolution is the most important problem among all the problems confronting mankind," rightly observes the Soviet researcher G. Sahnazarov.<sup>4</sup> One could also add to this to broaden the picture: social and national revolution.

Keeping in mind that social revolution as well as national revolution, although they have global dimensions, are carried out in a practical sense within a national framework, the key, in this case, remains the respect for the right of each people to forge its own destiny, the consistent application of the principle of national independence and sovereignty and the non-interference in domestic affairs.

This principle originated, like the first national states, on the soil of Europe, inspiring liberation movements on other continents.

Europe, by its example, can and must give to this principle, under today's conditions, a new brilliance with a significance which goes beyond the limits of our continent.

### III

The objective and imperative process of democratizing international relations, or as Calleo says "the general evolution of the world system from hegemony towards pluralism,"<sup>5</sup> clashes even more with the old structure of opposing military blocs.

From this point of view, Europe remains behind other regions of the world where military blocs are on the way to losing their meaning.

Certainly, the situation in Europe presents certain particular aspects, our continent, as Pierre Hassner observed, being directly tied to the world nuclear balance, which gives the bloc structure in Europe more durability and stability.

But, in our opinion, this does not change the anachronistic, damaging and even dangerous division of the continent into opposing military blocs.

We do not want to reiterate all the principal elements of the long debates surrounding the value of the guarantees of security offered by the current nuclear parity -- the main justification for maintaining the current military blocs.

In the end, the supreme criterion of any theoretical argument remains the practical.

And the practical facet of international relations in recent years shows us several things:

1. The current debates surrounding the balance of military forces between blocs and, especially, between the nuclear powers (debates which, unfortunately, cover or even stop debates regarding real disarmament) reveal, independently of the intrinsic value of the military data brought into discussion, the precarious nature of the military balance which supposedly ensures our peace. Moreover, the aforementioned debates point out the dangers in the event urgent measures are not taken for nuclear disarmament and that this balance should become destabilized.
2. The nuclear balance and the existence of blocs cannot impede, but create -- to the degree that the arms race stimulated by the existence of the blocs continues -- a broader field for local conflicts with all the unforeseen consequences of these conflicts.

The conflict in Cyprus is an example.

The interests of NATO were invoked for the assistance accorded without any reserve by the United States to the Greek junta, whose policies were, to a great degree, the immediate cause of the beginning of the conflict. Later, this same NATO policy remained a block in the path of a political solution.

3. The policy of military blocs becomes ever more an instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of states and an obstacle in the path of resolutions, in accordance with the interests of the people, of certain acute social-political problems of the countries participating in the blocs.

From this point of view, it is revealing that the offensive against the participation of the communists in the governments of certain West European countries was started in the name of NATO interests.

The phenomenon is even more dangerous:

- The struggle of all the people for the realization of social and national objectives takes on an ever broader scope.

A similar evolution is stimulated by the beginning of the process of detente, keeping in mind that numerous popular claims of an internal nature were delayed and suppressed under the pretext of the external dangers created by the Cold War period.

- The principal source of danger to the peace of the world today are the attacks, in any form, against the independence and sovereignty of states.

In our opinion, the realities of life show, regardless of the opinions that we have regarding the origins of blocs and their current or past merits, that blocs no longer correspond and even become an impediment to the positive development of relations on an inter-European level as well as a world level. And, it is necessary to take a decisive course towards their gradual elimination so as to bring about a type of relations in Europe and the world in which, as president Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "each nation, regardless of its social order or size, can participate with equal rights in the solution of all problems, can have its independence and sovereignty assured and can fully enjoy the advantages of social and economic development of progress and civilization."<sup>6</sup>

#### IV

It has become an axiomatic truth today that the process of building security and cooperation in Europe is in a close reciprocal relationship with the evolution of the overall international situation and the global efforts to ensure peace, security and progress for the whole world.

The states that participated in the CSCE recognized "the close connection between peace and security in Europe and the world overall and the need for each one of them to make their contribution to the strengthening of peace and world security and to promote the fundamental rights of economic and social progress and the welfare of all people."<sup>7</sup>

Carrying out the provisions of the preamble to the Final Act represents an important condition for the success of European security and cooperation. Some practical aspects of fulfilling these conditions especially hold our attention.

Certainly, first of all, there appears the necessity for the principles which guide the relations between European states to have a universal appeal.

The guiding principles for relations between the states that participated in the CSCE, consecrated in the Final Act, fully respond to this requirement, with these principles constituting an elaboration, a reinforcement of the fundamental principles of international rights.

It appears necessary to us, however, to insist -- when we now refer to relations between Europe and the rest of the world -- upon the fact that the application of these principles both in the spirit consecrated by the CSCE and in the interest of international cooperation must avoid dealing on the basis of bloc to bloc and must gradually go beyond the division of Europe and the world into military blocs.

As we have pointed out, this division is not only a source of conflicts and animosities in Europe, but it encourages the policy of blocs in the entire world and stirs up general suspicion.

Anton Vratusta observes, "Under such conditions (of a bloc policy), the policy of detente, that is, of a relaxation of tensions and coexistence, in essence wears thin in the relationships between great powers and, especially on European soil, finds itself, more or less, in confrontation with the non-aligned movement and developing nations."<sup>8</sup>

One of Europe's principal responsibilities to the rest of the world, in addition to its responsibilities to its own people, remains moving as quickly as possible from words to action in the area of military disengagement and disarmament, an area that has completely fallen behind on both the European and world levels.

The negotiations that are currently taking place in Vienna regarding certain measures for the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe, as well as the negotiations concerning overall disarmament, have not, to date, led to a single measure for effective disarmament.

This is why it becomes even more necessary to examine the entire problem of military disengagement on our continent within a general European framework.

The connection between the security of Europe and general security is acutely evident in the case of the zones of conflict outside Europe.

Naturally, CSCE concerns have been concentrated with good reason upon the Mediterranean zone where, especially the evolution of the conflicts in the Middle East and Cyprus, can exercise one of the most important influences upon Europe.

For that reason, the necessity of continuing the European efforts for the political solution of these conflicts remains open.

Certainly, the progress itself of the cause of security and cooperation in Europe constitutes a contribution in these efforts, but, at the same time, there is the need to intensify the efforts of the European states, individually or through joint actions, such as those within the framework of CSCE, for the promotion of peace and security in the Mediterranean and other zones of the world.

In our times, in addition to the political-military dimension of the problem, the economic dimension of security and cooperation takes on central significance. It is more and more clear that the failure to resolve the great international economic problems, first of all, the continually growing gap between the developed countries and the developing nations, threatens not only the welfare and progress of the people, but creates serious dangers for peace and security in the world.

Moreover, the rapid rate of events has substantially helped Europeans to understand the close interdependence between the economic situation of the countries on the continent and the situation of the other countries, especially of the developing nations.

In this regard, it is sufficient for us to look back to the "shock" created in numerous Western European countries by the so-called oil crisis. In addition to the influence that this crisis, which has still not been resolved, had upon certain immediate political decisions of the respective governments or upon the life styles of the people, it appears to us that the more important influence was upon the manner of thinking of some state officials, political leaders and public figures who began to better understand that the continued deepening of the rift between the developed world and the developing world threatens the stability and relations between developed countries.

Even the recovery from the economic crisis is proving to be possible only if the internal efforts of every country are part of a general international effort whose central purpose is the elimination of underdevelopment.

From this point of view, the principle framework which the Final Act creates for economic and technical-scientific cooperation in the environmental field and other fields constitutes, as a result, moreover, of Romania's contribution, "a valuable contribution to the general effort that is being made on a global level for the establishment of a new international political and economic order."<sup>9</sup>

This framework now demands, however, to be well filled with concrete acts.

I think that the general European effort in this regard must work in several main directions:

- to stimulate the individual participation of each European state in the efforts for a new international economic order, working, at the same time, for the full democratization of the negotiation forums in this area.

From this point of view; it is clear that each state, including the socialist states, can and must do more;

- in applying the provisions of the Final Act regarding economic cooperation, we must especially keep in view the possible effect of these measures upon cooperation between Europe and the developing world and, in this framework, to give the appropriate priority to the provisions which refer to the developing nations in Europe.

For example, the experience of the joint associations being established in some socialist countries through cooperation between western firms and socialist enterprises could be of interest for other developing nations outside Europe.

Of special significance in this context, is Romania's proposal, presented by president N. Ceausescu at the 28 March 1977 meeting of top level party and state organs that, within the framework of the upcoming meeting at Belgrade of the representatives of the states that participated in the Conference for Security and Peace in Europe, to reach an agreement among the European countries to adopt a joint position for the purpose of increasing the contribution to the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international political and economic order.

If within the framework of the Belgrade meeting these problems could be broached and positive understandings and solutions be reached in outlining an action program for all the European states in this basic problem, this would have great significance for the cause of peace and international cooperation.

There is no doubt Europe, by virtue of the role played by the European colonial powers in the past, has a moral and political responsibility to contribute to the elimination of underdevelopment, a legacy of the colonial regimes.

But, even those who do not want to recognize this responsibility are beginning to understand that by carrying it out the European states are only serving their own vital interests.

V

In analyzing the roads taken after the high level meeting in Helsinki in 1975 and measuring the results, which certainly are still modest, in carrying out the Final Act, some observers are inclined to view with skepticism the perspectives for security and cooperation in Europe.

Putting aside for now those whose skepticism expresses nothing more than an older opposition to the concept itself of general European security, we think that in many cases it is a matter of neglect of certain, let us say, functional and practical characteristics of the current world system from which the European sub-system cannot be excluded.

First of all, we have in view the rapid rate of change that is unanimously recognized today and which is occurring in the world on a national and social level.

Secondly, if the changes that are taking place before our eyes have a clearly revolutionary character, it is even more true that the solution of world problems must begin with the principles of peaceful coexistence, with taking into consideration all the new phenomena and forces which affect the sphere of international relations and with the need for all states to participate in the solution of these problems.

Some participants in the international system find it hard to break away from the old and they prefer to live with the old structures that they are used to, even if these structures are deteriorating, until they have the opportunity to better know and trust the new structures that are being proposed.

All this requires a flexible international system which can adapt when need be to a rapid rate of change while ensuring, at the same time, the avoidance of confrontations between the states that provoke these changes.

Thus, carrying out these new relations represents a long process that will inevitably know intermediate forms and stages in which the old and the new will coexist for fairly long periods of time. The disestablishment of military blocs, for example, cannot be accomplished overnight and it could happen even along the way to certain modifications within these blocs.

In this manner, the attenuation itself of the military aspects of the existing blocs (a phenomenon seen in the decisions of the recent Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Pact Treaty) represents a positive step.

Likewise, the fact that countries like Romania, a member of the Warsaw Pact, or like Portugal, a member of NATO, can take part, at the same time, as invited guests to the non-aligned movement, represents an expression of certain positive objective trends which emphasize the flexible methods of creating a new world system.

These are modest steps. The essential factor remains, however, to continually advance towards the final goal: the full democratization of international affairs.

From these general considerations, we think there can be deduced several immediate practical conclusions for inter-European activities:

1. It appears necessary that in the process of creating a new structure of cooperation and security in Europe to advance along a broad front in all



the principal directions, with any falling behind in one area or attempt to stress one aspect affecting the progress of the entire system.

In this way of thinking, we cannot overlook a current interpretation in certain western circles which feel that the Final Act is essentially a compromise based, on one hand, upon the recognition of a political and territorial status quo in Europe and, on the other hand, upon the recognition of the significance of the rights of man for security and cooperation in Europe.

It would be hard to find a more dangerous simplification!

Certainly, CSCE began, among other things, with the recognition of certain European realities, such as the borders fixed after World War II, the existence of two Germanies, and so forth.

But, CSCE did not consecrate, for example, the existence of military blocs, but, on the contrary, consecrated the principle that its activities be carried out outside of these blocs. Furthermore, in a world of profound change, Europe cannot be changed if it does not want to be isolated from the world and oppose it from a bastion of status quo.

It is equally dangerous to attempt to emphasize the problem of the rights of man.

Certainly, the goal of any international or internal constructive policy has man and the affirmation of the human personality in mind.

But, what is equally clear is the fact that man is a social being and that he cannot enjoy his rights and liberty as long as the collective mankind of which he is a part is not free (with the nation being, historically, the most durable of these collective groupings). The cause for the rights of man cannot be separated from ensuring national independence, from liberating mankind from the dangers of war, especially from the dangers of nuclear war, from ensuring the economic development of the country and community of which he is part and from eliminating underdevelopment, inequality between nations, effects of economic crises and so forth.

Under these conditions, the tendency to deal with the question of the rights of man in an isolated, unilateral manner, to amplify propaganda regarding certain situations and special cases and to involve in such actions certain low elements, such as turncoats and traitors, cannot objectively be considered anything but an action which diverts the attention of the people of Europe from the vital problems of the rights of man.

The need for progress along a broad front in all the dimensions of security and cooperation can slow down overall progress, but only in the beginning

phases. In any case, this approach is the only one that ensures a durable base for the entire process.

2. Right now it is necessary for us to create a framework in which to develop the new system of security and peace in Europe.

It is impossible and it would probably also be wrong to attempt today to determine all the components of this system.

However, its shape, which must necessarily be flexible and durable as we have pointed out, is generally known to us.

We can agree with Stanley Hoffman when he advocates "not permanent alignments, but permanent negotiations with changing coalitions or which are interfering."<sup>10</sup>

In any case, Europe has in CSCE a model and in "Basket Four" of the Final Act the beginning of such a framework.

There is the need, first of all, for its consolidation and completion as an essential condition for ensuring continuity, through democratic negotiations, of the aforementioned process and the indispensable balance between its sides.

From such a view, the road covered since the 1975 Helsinki meeting until today justifies not skepticism, but trust and decisiveness to go forward.

The concrete results, even if they are modest, have a value that must not be neglected. But, more importantly is the fact that the evolution of events confirms the correctness of the directives contained in the Final Act and the practical possibilities of advancing towards the creation of a newer and more just system of inter-European relations.

The direction, means and paths of access are clear to us.

The political will of the governments and people will decide in the end how and how quickly we will advance along these paths.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilaterale dezvoltate" [Romania on the Path to a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], speech at the Grand National Assembly, vol 12, pp 302-303.

2. David P. Calleo, "The European Coalition in a Fragmented World," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October 1975, pp 98-99.

3. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol II, p 1040.
4. G. Sahnazarov, "Deystvennyye faktory mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy," "Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn'," No 1, 1977, p 96.
5. David P. Calleo, op, cit., p 112.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 11, p 1041.
7. "Conferinta pentru Securitate si Cooperare in Europe" [The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe], Final Act, p 77 (English text).
8. Anton Vratusa, "L'Europe et le Monde" [Europe and the World], "Revue de politique internationale," No 644, p 4.
9. Romulus Neagu, "Securitatea europeana, afirmarea unui nou concept" [European Security, Affirmation of a New Concept], Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 215-216.
10. Stanley Hoffman, "Choices," "Foreign Policy," Number 12, Fall 1973, p 23.

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CSO: 2700

NEW DECREE ON REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Sep 77 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Gheorghe Boboce, prosecutor general of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by correspondent Graziela Vantu: "Revolutionary Humanism and Civic Awareness"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] As a result of the number of normative acts adopted in recent times regarding rehabilitation through work, there recently appeared a new decree which places social rehabilitation through work in the center of attention. What are its social implications?

[Answer] Certain persons who committed criminal acts naturally were given different sentences having certain consequences, including being prohibited from practicing certain professions and from working in certain areas. Or, through honest work, the majority of these persons have proved that they have corrected their behavior and integrated themselves into the work process, with respectable behavior in society. For certain persons like these who, through their integration in society and their families, have proven that they are useful, it is in the spirit of the humanism of our society and the Program adopted by the 11th Party Congress to create for these persons the possibilities to fully integrate themselves in social life by removing them from the criminal system and returning to them all rights. Thus, persons who show that they deserve the trust of the collective people also acquire, by way of a generous act of clemency elaborated in the spirit of our socialist ethics and equality, the opportunity to fully express their training and aspirations. I would especially like to emphasize the new, revolutionary character of this act within the framework of the principles of law, owing directly to comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, from whose initiative this decree was adopted in a form which corresponds both to individual interests and general requirements. Actually, by examining the provisions of the decree, we realize that through the measures adopted sanctions against those persons especially mentioned in the decree do not cover an entire life, but only that period of time necessary for corrective actions, exactly following the educational purpose that any type of punishment has today in Romania. It should be mentioned along these lines that our society's belief in the moral resources of man goes to such an extent that even recidivists, if they show an appropriate type of behavior over a period of time, can benefit from amnesty. Certainly,

this type of normative act must provide motivation for those persons who, after having committed anti-social acts, wish to regain their place in society through work. It is proof of the consistent nature of the policies of our party and state and the level of maturity attained by the awareness of the members of our society which concretely take into consideration man's individuality and personality, with his opportunities and aspirations, helping each person to obtain a high moral conduct that is appropriate for our socialist society.

[Question] What are the responsibilities of the collective people for the proper application of this decree?

[Answer] One of the most important ones is: to envelop with attention those who are covered by this decree, helping them to feel that they are trusted in the activities that they carry out and to watch, certainly, that their work attitude is always irreproachable. I would like to stress here also the responsibilities of the prosecutors to supervise the rigorous application of all the implications of the decree and to participate directly in all actions that are to be undertaken in this direction.

[Question] Turning to the group of normative acts that deal with the educational sense of work in the process of social improvement: How do the prosecutors' offices contribute to the application of the other normative acts concerning the re-education through work of certain minors and young people who have committed anti-social acts?

[Answer] In light of these legal provisions, the prosecutor especially has the responsibility to take preventative actions and to militate for the respect and application of the spirit of these provisions. For that reason, the application of the decree regarding amnesty for certain infractions committed by minors and young people in the age group 18-21 mobilized all the prosecutors in the country, who, under the guidance of party organs and organizations, concentrated their efforts in order to contribute, alongside all the educational elements mentioned in the law, to the rehabilitation through work of the minors and young people who committed these deeds. The prosecutors identified and made record of those released from re-education schools and penitentiaries, followed their assignment to different places of work, verified their activities and behavior at work and visited their families, taking measures where necessary to correct any shortcomings. In all the actions undertaken by them, the prosecutors cooperated with the other educational elements and workers' collectives, ensuring the application of legal dispositions.

[Question] What do you feel is especially valuable in rehabilitation through work?

[Answer] The fact that the entire activity of social reintegration of minors and young people in the age group 18-21 was carried out in accordance with the specific nature of each case so that each young person released was

helped to overcome the difficulties encountered in returning to work and life. This social reintegration proceeded in such a differentiated manner, with true parental care, that sometimes the collectives where they were assigned help them to resolve their different problems, including finding them places to live. This happened at such places like the auto parts enterprise in Iasi where a minor was assigned as a welder and the Cluj manufacturing factory "Flacara" where three youngsters were assigned.

[Question] What do you feel are the efficient solutions stemming from reintegration through work?

[Answer] The last 3 months, compared to the same period last year, showed that the number of violations of law committed by minors and young persons in the age group 18-21 has been reduced by half and this fact speaks eloquently about the educational force in our society today. Much has been done with regards to the role of the leadership of socialist units and schools, party organizations, youth, trade union and women's organizations and workers' collectives concerning the process of re-education and reintegration in society of those who have committed anti-social acts. In counties such as Bihor, Alba, Arad, Bistrita-Nasaud, Buzau, Covasna, Harghita, Ilfov, Maramures, Mehedinti, Cluj, Dimbovita, Vilcea, Gorj, Hunedoara, Brasov, Ialomita, Mures, Neamt, Olt, Vrancea and Salaj nearly all those persons released have reported for work and are working conscientiously in the units where they were assigned or are continuing their training. And this is also due to the fact that master workers, chiefs of workshops, section chiefs, members of party organizations and members of youth, mass and public organizations assumed their responsibilities of reintroducing them to society. In this light, we commend the efforts of the Arges County Construction Trust, together with the prosecutors, of following the behavior of certain young people both on the job and off, or the efforts of certain units in Vrancea County where they have tried to entrust minors in production to experienced workers with good reputations who, likewise, will watch over their professional and private lives. Frequently, the preferences of the minors and young people were taken into consideration, as in the case of a minor assigned to the Industrial Central for Inorganic Products in Rimnicu Vilcea who, upon a family request, was transferred to the place where his father worked, as a new worker. Thus, practice proves the great capacity of the workers' collectives in factories, work sites, agricultural units and forestry units and members of public organizations to educate through work those who deviated from the norms of social behavior.

[Question] Let's note some of the specific forms of re-education that have appeared in recent times...

[Answer] In Hunedoara, Alba, Brasov and Buzau Counties, as well as in Bucharest Municipality, there has been introduced the custom of prosecutors and other education personnel visiting the homes of minors and young people in order to also train the families in re-education actions. In Braila, Buzau, Caras-Severin and Vrancea Counties, in addition to the behavior of these young people at work, the training of these people in cultural and

social-public activities has become another educational factor. In Galati, Vrancea, Alba, Buzau, Brasov, and Cluj there is a practice of keeping track of persons who leave their place of work, with the names of these persons being communicated by each socialist unit so that those who did not show up on time can be brought to work. Keeping in mind the school situation of the minors and young people released in many counties, such as Hunedoara, Cluj, Bihor, Arges, Galati, Prahova, Sibiu, Timis and Bucharest Municipality, broad actions are being carried out to qualify and include them in different forms of education.

[Question] What are the most frequently encountered shortcomings in reintegration actions?

[Answer] In some socialist units, they later established supervision collectives to review the manner in which minors and young people in the age group 18-21 are enrolled in work and which, sometimes, made some of these young people leave work. Similarly, there were also cases in which these minors and young people did not report for work or refused unjustifiably the assignments given. Together with certain formal actions of the work collective, the operative non-assignment of young people and minors represents a shortcoming against which those measures and good initiatives of reeducation, including the ones to which we have referred, must be used.

[Question] What consequences do these shortcomings have?

[Answer] Our activities show that these shortcomings have led to the fact that some of these young people and minors, who remained outside of the work collectives and were unsupervised, committed new anti-social acts. It is true that these acts were few in number, compared to the number of measures taken as outlined in law. It must be understood that society is intolerant towards any type of violation of the norms of social behavior, firmly applying the dispositions of law against those who fail to heed them. These types of isolated cases, showing the deficiencies in educational activities, contravene the process of broadening socialist democracy, of strengthening order and discipline and of more fully affirming the norms of socialist ethics and equality. We must stress that the rehabilitation through work of certain members of our society is not a circumstantial action and it should not be viewed as a campaign, but it must be understood as a permanent action, as an integral part of the general policy of creating the new man. In the future, new normative acts will be elaborated which will improve our legislative framework, with a central role being played by the mature, exigent, firm collective in the carrying out of justice.

[Question] What do you think should be done in the future to improve the role of the collective in the process of re-educating those who committed anti-social acts?

[Answer] I think that in cases where it is felt necessary collective leadership organs in state and cooperative units, institutes, schools, mass and public organizations and the family must give increased attention to the

exercise of the attributes established by law regarding the re-education of persons assigned to work or some type of educational program as a result of the legal provisions which we are discussing. It is appropriate that decision-makers intensify their activities to uncover and assign to work those elements who lead a parasitic life style, applying the legal provisions for turning those persons over to certain work collectives for the purpose of qualifying and ensuring their stability in units where they were assigned or obligated to work. Also for ensuring the application of legal dispositions, it is necessary to have the growth of the efficiency and firmness of the judiciary organs towards those who commit serious acts, working promptly to bring them to justice within the framework of certain forms of specific prevention, such as public meetings and the judgement of certain processes on the spot, with the masses of workers being trained to combat any type of anti-social manifestations. Naturally, improvements are also necessary in the activity of juridic propaganda and popularizing and explaining the content of the laws and other normative acts to the citizens, with the Association of Jurists and other elements playing a broader role in training the citizens so they know the laws and with the workers being educated in the spirit of the indications of special theoretical and practical value issued by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent Working Conference with Cadre from the Fields of Political Education, Propaganda and Ideology.

Within this framework of broad understanding for the process of deepening the socialist democracy in which we live, the workers in the prosecutors' offices must also work as jurists and political activities at the same time, consistently militating for the application of party and state policies and for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

From the facts that I have presented, we fully see the capacity of public opinion to actively militate for the application of our socialist legislation and for the elimination of all anti-social manifestations. The workers are again being called upon to intervene promptly for the establishment of order, discipline and responsibility at work, in the neighborhood, in town, on the street or on the block where they live, taking a firm attitude against those who break the law, disturb public peace and quiet and lead a parasitic life style. Only an active, firm and intransigent public opinion, with a high sense of responsibility towards anti-social manifestations can ensure the application of revolutionary legislative measures in the name of accelerating social progress.

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## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

AID FOR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that citizens whose houses were destroyed as a result of the earthquake of 4 March 1977 can receive credits under the conditions of Law No 4/1973 for the purpose of building new houses or buying houses from the state housing supply. The sum received as compensation from ADAS [the State Insurance Administration] will serve as the down payment for the new house. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 89, 20 Aug 77 p 1]

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Annex to Law No 2/1968 on the administrative organization of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania is amended as follows: Flaminzi and Nicolae Balcescu communes in Botosani County are combined under the name of Flaminzi Commune; the villages of Flaminzi are Cordun are combined under the name of Flaminzi; the villages of Nicolae Balcescu. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 89, 20 Aug 77 p 2]

CSO: 2700

## YUGOSLAVIA

### LOCAL EFFORTS IN DEFENSE FIELD REPORTED

#### Pec Reservist Organization

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug 77 pp 18-19

[Article by Mladen Petrovic]

[Text] The Military Reserve organization of Pec has received the highest recognition, the Golden Plaque of the Federal Council of the Alliance of Military Reserve Forces. This recognition is for exceptional contributions to the development and strengthening of the military reserve organization, for ideological and political education in a Marxist spirit, for general military training, for nurture of revolutionary traditions, for strengthening brotherhood and unity, and for results achieved in general popular defense and public self-defense....

The city of Pec is located on the bank of the Bistrica River in the sub-region of Metohi ja-Prokletija, at an altitude of 498 meters above sea level. It is unusual in addition because nature has provided it with a "filter" to protect the human environment--the heights of Zleb, Hajla and Rugovo on one side and Prokletija mountain on the other.

That is not all, for Pec headquarters is there too, the so-called Seremet tower, a typical example of Turkish architecture, surrounded by a high wall, where prior to and during the war of national liberation many patriotic revolutionaries were imprisoned.

The home of national hero Miladin Popovic contains the Museum of the War of National Liberation with about 700 exhibits on the life and work of such national heroes as Miladin Popovic, Ramiz Sadiku and Bora Vukmirovic.

#### A Dialog About Highest Recognition

We found Rade Zvicar, the president of the community Council for Popular Defense, at a discussion of the accomplishments in defense preparations and public self-defense, as well as of the tasks for the future.

The other members of the Council were also there, including Redzep Gasi, Salih Hodza, Enver Berisa, Boza Jovanovic, and Saban Trakanici. Colonel Vuk Saljic was also present.

Redzep, Salih, Enver and Boza are modest, retiring, friendly people, who do not like to speak about the things that distinguish them from their fellows. Yet their life stories have nonetheless brought them distinction, both before the war in clashes with the police, and after the war in very dynamic public politics.

Redzep Gasi belonged to the working class from earliest youth, and today he is an active sociopolitical worker. He is the president of the Pec Community Council of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces, as well as a member of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces of Yugoslavia and of the Regional Council of the Alliance, and of the Community Council of the Alliance of Veterans of the War of National Liberation. If the truth be known, he was already well known to the police of the Pec headquarters. He was interned in the prison camp on Ada Ciganlija, in Smederevska Palanka, in the Tirana jail....

Our conversant turned unwillingly to those things that were now long behind in time, but nevertheless we managed to determine that even in prison he was a leader.

#### Unsurpassed in Team Work

Today as well, everyone was at the gathering, in the usual business-like atmosphere. Redzep looked through some papers and guided us to a different "line of fire"--to Vice President Rastko Saljic, Nikola Bojovic, the secretary, and Aca Obradovic of the Alliance of Veterans of the War of National Liberation, to help if there were a snag somewhere. They are all reserve military officers and participants in the revolution.

Rastko was surrounded by numerous recognitions: commendations, diplomas, bronze and silver plaques.... And finally, the gold had reached the right hands. The recognitions had come all along the line: from the Community Assembly, the Regional Council of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces, the Republic Alliance, and finally, the Federal Council of the Alliance. As we learned later, Rastko is the primary coordinator of progress activities of the alliance council, while Nikola works with devotion on administrative, personnel, and logistics matters.

"If my comrades did not assist me in the sea of tasks, it seems to me that I would never get out from under these papers," Nikola hastened to stress the understanding and help of his comrades. Also there were Branko Doric and Predrag Petkovic, majors of the Pec garrison, Enver Beciri and Danilo Rajevic, teachers of general popular defense in the "Veljko Vlahovic" VEKS [Advanced Economics and Commercial School] and Sulejman Bojku, president of the first local organization of Reserve Military Forces, along with others.

There were Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Moslems, but they were unified in their organization just as in the city in which they lived. There are two local and 21 basic organizations of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces, organized on the territorial principle according to local communities.

The community organization of the Alliance contains 16 national heroes, 70 participants in the Revolution, and 80 retired officers on pensions. There are 764 communists, including workers, farmers, engineers, lawyers, economists, doctors, and doctors of science.

"All of those generations understand that they are performing a very responsible function in Yugoslav society. Therefore, this sort of work and dedication are confirmation that any eventual war would not catch us unprepared," said Predrag Petkovic.

#### Nurturing Revolutionary Traditions

The framework of all activities is the Reserve Military Force at the foundation, in agencies of sociopolitical bodies and organizations that in one way or another are concerned with defense preparations in the community.

A tactical orientation march was conducted here following the historical events in which, in addition to the reserve military forces, there was participation by reconnoiterers, hikers, alpinists, students and youth including those from villages, cities, schools and army units. With dry food, weapons and ammunition, the life in camp is thoroughly fanciful.

It was also noted that this march differed fundamentally from the usual ones, both in terms of its program and in character. The work of the Reserve Military Force march included renewing and expanding existing competencies in military skills, leadership, and unit commanding.

Mention of recollections from the War of National Liberation, refreshed memories of the glorious days of battle of the Pec fighters and units, which contributed to the strength of socialist patriotism and the passing of battle traditions to the young. That manifestation in turn contributed to the further development and strengthening of the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and the people of Pec and those of a broader territory. Thus, the participants saw and experienced Crni vrh, heard the words of Uko Gasij, a participant in the First Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Kosovo, they visited Vitimirica where the first regional meeting of the Yugoslav Communist Youth League for Kosovo was held, and they heard Ljubo Veljkovic, who participated in the latter conference.

The "Veljko Vlahovic" Advanced Economic and Commercial School is a story in itself. The educators and the leaders of the student youth are all communists. The institutions of higher education have established very

close cooperation with the Military Academy (which has a quartermaster orientation), so that they were among the first to prepare a draft of a supplemental training program in the area of general national defense. That program has been given a very high evaluation by military experts and has received abundant praise.

We would not be exaggerating if we told our comrades from other advanced and high schools in Kosovo to come and see what is going on here to prepare for defense.

Director Enver Beciri, a captain first class in the reserves, introduced us to the manner in which this school collective provides assistance to the Community Council of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces, in the amount of 20,000 dinars, while the reserve officers will help the students in the practical matters of training for general national defense, firing, etc.

The statistics indicate that this valuable collective has trained several thousand citizens of Pec for the needs of civil defense, including many members of the territorial defense force and important personnel for the needs of the civilian sector. Furthermore, young women in the city and surroundings of Pec are increasingly interested in higher education. Among other things, that attests to the need for a faculty of general national defense. Young women of Pec anticipate that at that faculty they will become armed with knowledge that tomorrow will make them into the next defenders of the country.

In the words of Nikola Popovic, the chief of staff of the Territorial Organization, participants of the War of National Liberation everywhere serve as examples for youth.

Practice has once more confirmed that a comprehensive and worthy collective can accomplish much. The plans for training, exercises, firing weapons and for the work of youth and party organizations are carried out daily. They don't like delays, and they are firmly resolved to accomplish their objectives this year as well.

Saban Trakanici of the Community Secretariat of General National Defense stated: "All efforts have been expended so that in the "dead" season we can complete the training of the youth who are not in school, primarily young village women. The accomplishment of the program is being carried out in the best way, in educational centers in the villages of Radavac, Vitimirica, Zahac, Ljesane, Rausic, Gorazdevac, Barane, Drelje and Hadzovice, while training of city youths is taking place within the framework of local communities. In this manner, 832 young people (including 496 women and 336 men) have completed training in the rifle firing program. They have heard 805 lectures with practical work and seen 125 films. The degree to which the youth have assimilated all of this is apparent from the success of the rifle firing, especially of the young village women who were experiencing their first "baptism" in fire.

The educational center for student youth of Kosovo is also in Pec. Via the system of gatherings, according to the "quota" of the regional secretariat of national defense, the "Miladin Popovic" barracks has 282 students who with the aid of their "neighbors" were serving their "student training period." Before a ceremonial formation, the names of thirty outstanding students were read; they had received the distinction of "Model Youth" awards.

The Army Center is a Cultural Center

It appears that one cannot find an area here in which cooperation between reserve military officers, the "Vasilije Durovic--Zarki" Workers University, and the garrison is not extremely close. For example the Army Center here could also be called the Pec cultural center, the workers university, the center for Marxist and sociopolitical education, the self-management club, and other things. In it all more important lectures are held, there are various courses of political, labor and craft natures, such as courses in the Albanian language for military officers and civilians employed by the Yugoslav Army, courses in sewing and tailoring, etc.

"In addition to that, we would like to point out certain indicators: Marxist education has been completed here by 250 soldiers and younger officers. There are 20 other departments here, including the Political School of the LCY, the "Milentije Popovic" Youth School for Self-Management Leaders, a school for delegates and delegations, and a school for workers in cultural affairs for all ages. These forms of education are being obtained by 8,237 persons. Besides that, 25,650 participants have attended lectures, ranging from the greenery plan to workers' control." This report came from the president of the LC Community Committee's Ideological Commission, Milorad Vukicevic, a reserve military officer.

In addition to reserve military officers, some of the credit goes to the chief of the Yugoslav Army Center, Dura Becic, ensign. Through his efforts the officers and their families have seen the Mausoleum and Museum at Cetinje, and the Greek-Yugoslav cemetery....

This, then, is the manner in which the multifarious activities develop at the Yugoslav Army Center. For the reserve military officers and their comrades this is a true home in the true sense of the word, in which everyone finds something for himself, either to expand his knowledge or to provide diversion in one of many sections.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

Rade Zvicer, president of the Council of General National Defense: "The Reserve Military Forces are in full mobilization."

Redzep Gasi, president of the Community Council of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces: "Good results have been achieved by mutual effort."

The signing of the agreement on cooperation between the Yugoslav Army Center and the "Vasilije Durovic--Zarki" Workers' University.

Reserve Military Forces on an exercise: "Every individual strives for the greatest possible success."

Rastko Saljic, vice-president of the Community Council of the Alliance of Reserve Military Forces: "Recognition for successful work encourages even greater striving."

Saban Trakanici, secretary of the Community Secretariat of National Defense: "Everyone is concerned about the reserve officers, and the reserve officers are concerned about everything."

Students of the "Veljko Vlahovic" Advanced Economic and Commercial School prior to the test on the foundations of National Defense.

Youth and the Reserve Military Force visiting the monument at Hajla.

Nikola Popovic, chief of staff of the territorial defense: "People come to training even with their canes."

Salih Hodza, president of the community council of the League of Veterans of the War of National Liberation: "Nurture of revolutionary traditions deserves exceptional importance in our opinion."

Enver Beciri, director of the "Veljko Vlahovic" Advanced Economic and Commercial School: "We have established extremely close cooperation with the Military Academy."

#### Women Textile Workers of Vranje

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 77 p 7

[Article by D. Mihajlovic]

[Text] The poor hills and infertile Morava lands in the valley have forced the people of Vranje to live modestly, to labor abroad and to raise their children in poverty. Even today seasonal workers go off seeking better wages, but far fewer do this, and they always return to their home fires. The women never went along with the men, but stayed home to feed and raise the children, weaving colorful carpets and embroidering. They awaited the men's return. That is the way it used to be.

Times have changed in Vranje. No longer is there so much laboring abroad, nor do the women await the men's return in the same manner. Domestic industry

has completely bound the people to their region and in the factories they earn more than anywhere else. And they are at home.

Even if there should be an explosion, the traditionally freedom-loving man of Vranje from the very beginning will defend his territory. Its defense today depends on the interest in living there, on one's own land. For him this is the family home, a working place in the hall, the Yugoslav free market and, above all, the Yugoslav community in which he has gained all this.

The former itinerant worker of Vranje has become a good and worthy industrial worker, while the women of Vranje, traditionally tied to the home, have become liberated women, the equal of their husbands. That is confirmed in many places, one of which is the "Vranje" cotton plant, which, in a sense, is a picture of the Vranje region today, its life, standard of living, attitudes and defense stance. So it has been for 12 years for nearly 12,000 workers. The plant has grown in breadth and in height. The number of employees has nearly tripled, while four shifts turn off the machines a mere 3 times annually, for major holidays. Most of the employees are women, with only one-third being men, but all are young, in the spring of life, with an average age of 26 years. That other average, in the blue envelope, was 3,420 dinars last year. That much could be distributed from those 600 million dinars of income earned by the 6 basic organizations of associated labor for those 9 million meters of fabrics and many other products produced for other factories. That came, of course, after deductions of expenses and contributions to funds of mutual interest, and the plant complex pays special attention to such things. Preparations for defense are in the center of attention here, so that all employees have a mutual interest in contributing to it. That interest is seen equally by the general director Branko Golubovic or, for example, by his assistant Milutin Milosavljevic, with whom we discussed all this, and by the ordinary worker.

Besides that, the workers of the plant complex every year have at least one "textile" preoccupation (this year it was quality control, which is difficult to maintain with textiles, and very easy to lose). Yet their constant concern, which endures year in and year out, is to be among the most well-prepared in defense preparedness.

To attain that level of preparedness, many measures are undertaken for equipping and training people for defense. But training is never enough. They are constantly learning and improving upon their past learning experiences. Last year alone the plant complex hired 800 new workers who must coordinate military training knowledge with the needs of the factory and its defense. As a specialist, that is the concern of Dobrosav Mitic, a man with the responsibility to worry about "technical" matters, for when military preparedness is in question (and that includes both defense and continued production), then those most concerned are the people who direct the plant complex. That includes the labor council, and the general director, and his second assistant



Srboljub Dordevic, and worker Jelka Stefanovic, who is the president of the union, and all of those who are responsible to the workers, and who as members of commissions are assigned to take care of that task in the name of the collective.

In implementing the curriculum and the educational program for operations during wartime, the Vranje textile workers have made no concessions. It has reached the point where each one, regardless of the place he works, knows where, what and how he will work when the plant is switched to wartime production operations. That has been a frequent topic of organizations of the League of Communists and of the Youth League, as well as of self-management agencies. Achievements in preparation for defense are regarded as very good, but the conclusion can be summarized as follows: The intensity of those preparations still remains in the future.

None of the plant's leaders mentioned saving dinars when preparations for defense were involved. As a result, the factory territorial unit is armed to the teeth, and the strengthening of civil protection forces is in full progress. More than two-thirds of the women employees are included in one of those defense units. In the words of one of the halls: "The Vranje woman is militant and implacable, very enterprising, and desirous of seeing that matters concerning defense are carried through completely. Her security is here, in the hall, at the loom or at the spinning-mill. She knows that even when she is tying a cotton thread. As a result she very strongly thinks about what she will do with that thread tomorrow when someone reaches out, if they reach out, for what belongs to her."

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### TRAINING EXERCISE BY DIVER-SABOTEURS DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatia 29 Jul 77 pp 12-13

[Text] Above all, the saboteurs could thank the "strong back" of their home submarine for the complete secrecy of their arrival to the wide sea channel. However, now they have left her, like a flock of fledglings, in order to get their own "prey." Furnished with diving gear, strange explosive devices and special equipment, they are to cross the deep channel by themselves. Their target is the opposite shore and its trenches.

The opposite shore? This is easily said. One must first get there without being noticed. Uncertainty and many unknown factors lie on the way to that distant shore across the channel. They must be figured out. The planners of the action ask themselves: What is there, across the channel? There where the air itself, not to mention the sea, reeks with the presence of an unhospitable defender. In addition to the missile troops in the trenches there are also, as is well known, the territorial troops who defend each cave, each inlet, each rock....

Two minutes ago when, according to calculations, the third group was to have reached its destination, a muffled explosion was heard.

What does it mean? This is what the men on the home ship, those who must dive into this uncertainty, are asking themselves. The explosion could mean that the saboteurs have succeeded. But, it could also mean the opposite, that they no longer exist. However, these men whose names we are intentionally withholding, do not seem to care about this. Danger is their trade and surprise their ally. It would seem that after the explosion their "saboteur's blood" boiled even more strongly underneath their rubber suits.

A confident leap into the emerald sea. In two or three backstrokes they find themselves where the submersibles await them. Before diving they make a few more finger movements, and finalize the agreement by writing it on glistening aluminum tablets. One more glance toward those who remain behind and the "aquanauts" point the "snouts" of their stocky submersibles toward the "shore of uncertainty."

The closed breathing devices render them invisible within the first minute. Their special equipment does not leave behind that well known and "betraying" trail of bubbles. This will help them to dive to the shore unnoticed. And when they have approached their target they will sink the submersibles and continue "on foot," with the aid of the fins and the blessing of luck, which, it would seem, is not helping them at all in this exercise. However, the failure of one team does not disconcert the next. They are starting their assignment with unconcealed optimism and the motto: "The saboteur's greatest sin is not to try." Thus, they never made themselves face this dilemma. They left "equipped" with cunning, strength, courage....Still and all, the poor clarity of the agitated sea in front of the target was insufficient cover to distract the watchful eye of the many anti-saboteur guards. The fourth and fifth teams experienced the fate of the first. They were discovered on time, sufficiently far from the screws of the missile boats, which they never even saw.

It was the end....The only thing left for them to do was to act in a "gentlemanly" manner--dictated by the security instructions of the exercise plan. These disciplined young men did not hesitate for a moment even in this. To tell the truth, when they emerged from the depths, all wet and blue from the cold, it was evident that they were sad. But, there was nothing that could be done....

They did not manage to overcome the anti-saboteur security of the ships, but they still managed to accomplish their task, because what they accomplished in these past few days is worthy of admiration! It speaks of their high training and good [physical] condition which would, in a real situation, show their true value.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

Key:

1. A team of two saboteurs starts its task.
2. The hoisting of the saboteurs' submersible onto the mother ship. The pressure chamber can be seen in the right hand corner of the photograph. All underwater assignments must be medically safe.
3. In order to preserve their stamina for the main part of the task, the saboteurs utilize other means of transportation beside the submersibles.
4. The prerequisite for the accomplishment of each task is secrecy, but also exactitude measured in seconds.
5. The saboteurs are equipped with special diving gear with a closed breathing apparatus which allows them to reach the target unnoticed.

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END